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CARDINAL TENETS OF THE PEOPLES PARTY.

Recognition of the Right of the People to Rule, *i. e.*, The Initiative and Referendum.
Creation and Maintenance of an Honest Measure of Values.
Government Ownership and Operation of Railroad, Telegraph and Telephone Lines.
Opposition to Trusts.
Opposition to Alien Ownership of Land and Court-made Law.

NOTES OF THE WEEK.

BY FINDING it necessary or convenient to evacuate Iloilo just thirty-nine hours in advance of the arrival of the American expedition sent to receive the surrender and take possession in the name of the United States the Spanish, purposely or not, have prepared for us a pretty stew, made for us a multitude of trouble, confronted us with the very situation that we would like not to raise. Now it does seem that the Spaniards

could well have held out until they could have given possession of Iloilo to United States troops if they had had the will, that they could readily have stood off the insurgents, that they did not evacuate under the pressure of stern military necessity, that they would have run no great risk, exposed themselves to the danger of no great loss by not evacuating when they did. Still the Spaniards had a right to judge what was best for them and to act upon that judgment, and we do not see that we have any right to complain for Spaniards are in no way bound to fight, to suffer, to die for us in the Philippines.

True, it may be said that to hand over Iloilo to our enemies was an unfriendly act, but we have given no notice to the Spaniards that the Filipinos are our enemies, on the contrary have insisted that the insurgents, bitter enemies as they were of Spain, were our friends. And surely for Spaniards to give possession of Iloilo to the insurgents was no unfriendly act, no act inimical to us unless indeed we regard those insurgents as our enemies. And enemies of ours such insurgents are not unless we make them so.

WHEN our fleet sought out and conquered the Spanish in the Philippines we encouraged the insurgents as enemies of our enemy, Spain. We regarded them as friends not foes, we treated them as such, they looked upon us, hailed us as their liberator from Spanish oppression. And our friends they will remain unless by ignoring their rights, treating them as a conquered people, denying them the liberty for which they fought, we goad them into resistance. Fortune has placed them in possession of Iloilo, a town that is of right their's not our's, and unless we undertake to drive them out, to take from them what is their's by right, there will be peace. If we undertake to put them out, to forcibly take from them their right of self government, to appropriate that to which we have no right save the right that might may give, the right that the baron robber of olden times, the land grabber and despoiler among nations to-day must fall back upon, then there may be war but it will be the criminal aggression of the Great American Republic that will make war, force Filipinos to the resistance, that, if they are men worthy of the blessings of self government, worthy of liberty, they will not fail to make. And if they are imbued with such spirit and we make war upon them we will have occasion to shed many a tear for American soldiers sacrificed in an unrighteous cause.

IT MAY be that the insurgents of the Island of Panay and now in possession of Iloilo do not represent the majority of the inhabitants of that island, that their only title to rule is that of might. And in that event they have the same title to rule in Iloilo that we have. But clearly they do represent some of the people of the island which is more than we can claim with any show of right, and surely they can lay better claim to represent the majority than we can. Further, the insurgents of the island of Panay have not been assisted by us in asserting control of the island save so far as we broke the power of Spain to maintain her yoke upon the people of that island and all others of the Philip-

pine group. If those insurgents be but a minority of the people and have gained a mastery over the majority it is by their own effort, not with our assistance. We broke the yoke of Spain but if a faction small in numbers but great in force rules in the island of Panay that faction is not of our making, and in the triumphs of that faction over all others, triumphs which give it supremacy, we have had no part.

We sincerely hope that there will come no clash of arms at Iloilo, that we will not insist upon possession in such a way as to anger the Filipinos, as to goad them into resistance, for if we do there will, to quote from the *London Daily Telegraph*, "be desperate fighting, leaving America mistress of a conquered people bearing her as bitter hatred as they bore to Spain."

And do we want to become such a mistress, a mistress ruling not with the consent of the governed, but despite their protests; ruling as Spain ruled, by fear, not love; ruling in a way calculated to incite chronic ferment, unrest and resistance to our rule whenever the opportunity offers, in a way that we denied Spain the right to rule? Surely we cannot afford to so rule, not if we have regard for our own good name, care to preserve our self-respect, our honor, our cherished ideals of government.

IN HIS first annual message to Congress President McKinley enumerating the alternative policies that were open for the United States to follow in relation to Cuba and the devastating struggle then going on in the island, added these words that had the approval of his countrymen, against which there was not one written or spoken protest:—

"I speak not of forcible annexation, for that cannot be thought of. That, by our code of morality, would be criminal aggression."

And ten days before the outbreak of war and in a message to Congress he repeated these words, while Congress solemnly gave its endorsement to such sentiment in the Declaration of War. And to such expression, such assertion no exception was taken save by those in Europe who ridiculed our professions of disinterestedness as insincere. But now we have the President and a large party urging the annexation of the Philippines, without warring on the natives if possible, but annexation by all means. In short the President stands ready to do that in the Philippines which he declared would be criminal aggression in Cuba. And does a different code of morality hold us in the Philippines than in Cuba, or has our code of morality undergone such change in a few short months that what was criminal aggression in April last is now to be looked upon as a righteous policy, a duty to humanity and mankind that we must perform?

Filipinos may protest against our rule but as we know so much better what is good for them than they do themselves, as we can judge what government is best for them so much better than they, as we can give them a better government, in our estimation of course, than they can themselves, it is our duty to give them such government, beat them into accepting it if they do not like it. This is the doctrine the President and annexationists now go by, the doctrine by which they are ready, if need be, to defend the forcible annexation of the Philippines.

A VERY similar doctrine was appealed to several generations ago in defense of the slave trade. By this doctrine such trade, the stealing of men and forcible taking of African negroes to the new world, was declared to be a Christian trade and defended as a trade benefiting the negroes themselves. It was said that to take negroes from their state of semi-barbarism and take them where they might be Christianized and civilized, be uplifted by touch with a Christian people and western civilization, was a work of Christianity and civilization and the duty of Christian men.

Thus readily did casuistry offer a defense for a revolting trade that resulted in great profit to the traders; thus to-day, at the command of self-interest, does it offer a ready excuse for criminal aggression in the Philippines, for our imposing our rule upon

the Filipinos without their consent. Yet all the casuistry we may raise cannot save us from the visitation of divine wrath and punishment that we may merit by trampling ruthlessly on the laws of God, of justice and of right. Thus the slave trade that those interested and profiting therefrom sought to make appear Christian by a maze of clever casuistry has left its curse upon the country in a grave race question that perplexes us greatly, the end of which no man sees; thus if we forcibly annex the Philippines, do that which by our code of morality is criminal aggression, seek to gather riches by despoiling other peoples, will a curse surely fall upon us, for our transgressions as a nation will we surely be visited with punishment, visited by a corruption and moral turpitude born among those who profit from unearned gains, a turpitude that will lead to the restraint of our productive capabilities and wealth producing power, a corruption that will worm its way into our body politic, threatening our liberties, threatening to result in the substitution of a plutocracy, of a government by those who may purchase place for a government of the people.

THE President of the United States has no right to make war. By the Constitution the power to declare war is vested in Congress. The President has the constitutional right to use the forces of the United States to repel invasion; to use such forces to make invasion, to attack any people unless empowered explicitly to so do by Congress, by the power that alone may decree war and peace, he has no right. And against the Filipinos Congress has not declared war, has not authorized the President to make war. Therefore, if he orders the United States troops to the Philippines to attack and make war on the Filipinos he is exceeding his power.

Let the President so make war of his own initiative, declared Senator Vest in the Senate sometime since and before the situation in the Philippines had been rendered so acute by the Filipinos forestalling us in the occupation of Iloilo, and it will become the duty of Congress to impeach him, impeach him for violation of the Constitution he is sworn to uphold, for usurpation of powers specifically vested in Congress. And now Senator Vest and others like him may arise in righteous wrath, may make the halls of Congress ring with a storm of invective if we make real active war under the President's orders upon the Filipinos, but such wrath will be impotent, mere impotent wrath, unless there comes a great revulsion of popular feeling.

But there are some signs that such revulsion, a reaction against our forcible annexation of the Philippines is at hand. The Iloilo incident has set men to thinking, thinking of what right we have to dispossess the insurgents and so setting in motion a reaction. And if we undertake to forcibly dispossess the insurgents, if we make war upon them, spill blood with no other end in view than keeping the people of the Philippines under foot and despoiling them for the profit not of the many but of the few in America, revulsion of sentiment may come with a storm, and a storm so sudden that the President, adept as he is in shifting his sails, shaping his opinions to drift with the popular current, may be unable to stand at the head of such storm of revulsion and so lose in a night the popularity he has gained as an expansionist, gained while the annexationist sentiment has been at its flood tide.

THE evacuation of Iloilo by the Spaniards and the accompanying announcement that they hold but two remaining stations in the southern islands has also thrown into bold relief another fact that annexationists are prone to ignore, namely: that the Spanish have next to no control in the Philippines that they can transfer to us, no sovereignty, no title. And this fact forced home causes serious reflection. If Spain has no effective sovereignty to transfer, how can we come into sovereignty upon the transfer of the flimsy sovereignty that Spain has to transfer? Surely from Spain we cannot get sovereignty; if we get it at all

it must be from the people of the islands who are now in control in the islands outside of Manila occupied by our troops, and the two posts in the southern islands occupied by Spanish. And to get it from the people there are only two known ways, one is by their voluntary consent, the other is by conquest.

And thus reflecting, men grow less ardent advocates of the annexation of the Philippines regardless of the wishes of the people. Thus the *New York Times*, which has been drifting not enthusiastically but steadily into the annexationist column, halts and questions why we should pay Spain \$20,000,000 for the possession of the islands, a possession which not possessing she cannot give. It remarks on the treaty of peace that "we have thrown in twenty millions in order to succeed, so far as now appears, to the hatred entertained by the natives for Spain"—not a very valuable bargain.

WHAT effect recent events in the Philippines and the train of thought they have set in motion in America will have upon the chances of securing a prompt ratification of the peace treaty by the Senate remain to be seen. But it is certain that the path to an early ratification has not been made easier, that opposition to ratification has increased and to such an extent that action upon the treaty may be forced over until after March 4th, and into the new Senate. Such, indeed, is the opinion of Senator Caffrey, who is strenuously opposed to ratification of the treaty in its present shape and urges the amendment of the treaty by adding to it a declaratory clause setting forth that the United States in taking the islands has no purpose to hold and govern them without the consent of the people, that its purpose is to treat the Philippines as it has promised to treat Cuba, to aid the people in setting up a firm and stable republican government and then upon the assumption by that government of responsibility to us for \$20,000,000 paid by us to Spain to seal their liberation, withdraw, leaving the people to work out their own destiny.

Now it is well enough to make to the world such declaration of purpose, but as Spain has nothing to do with it, with the making of such declaration or the carrying out of such purpose, there is no good reason for the attachment of such a declaratory clause to the treaty of peace.

IN view of the grave questions likely to arise in the Philippines even though we take the islands with the avowed purpose of aiding the Filipinos to establish a government of the governed and faithfully pursue such policy, questions that will need the nicest of handling to prevent the seeding of dangerous disputes prone to lead to disastrous clash between our authority and Filipinos, we welcome the sending of General Lawton to the Philippines as second in command to General Otis. After the surrender of Santiago General Lawton, in conjunction with General Wood, did much to re-establish cordial relations with the Cubans so needlessly broken by General Shafter because of the want of a little tact, the assumption of a superiority born of an uncontrolled self egotism and the display of a superfluity of conceit, ill temper and brusqueness in dealing with the Cubans. Lawton can be relied upon not to make such gross blunders in the Philippines for he has got enough Americanism about him to scorn to act on the principle that might makes right or treat the weak with contempt.

THE Cubans, like other Latin peoples, are mercurial in their temperament. One day they will be cast into the depths of despondency by some action, some little something that they take entirely too seriously, to which they attach far too much meaning, and the next, for no better reason, they will soar into the heights of elation. This have we seen exemplified of late in Havana and very markedly. Evacuation day, the breaking of the last cord of Spanish sovereignty, the day marking the emancipation of Cubans from the tyranny and oppressive yoke of Spain once and forever, the day marking the dawn of freedom and a prosperity

and happiness unknown under Spanish rule, was naturally regarded by Cubans as an occasion for great rejoicing, an occasion to be celebrated, to be much made of. So they decked out their houses in gay bunting, they worked up great enthusiasm that led them at times to go beyond bounds and insult, assault Spanish citizens, that so irritated Spanish soldiers and officers as to lead them to forget themselves, resent Cuban enthusiasm and Cuban jeers and so brew bloody street fights; they arranged for a grand celebration of evacuation day for the passing of 6,000 Cuban soldiers, soldiers of the patriot army, in review through the streets of Havana.

So were Cubans soaring in the heights of elation. And then General Brooke, fearing that such celebration, such marching of the Cuban army through the streets of Havana, while the city was yet full of Spaniards, would lead to riotous disturbances, that jeers might lead to counter jeers, jeers to blows and bloodshed, interdicted such parade, such celebration. And at once Cubans sank into a sullen despondency; in such action of General Brooke they fancied they saw a resolution on the part of the Washington Government to refuse to give recognition to Cubans, a resolution to never recognize Cuban independence, but hold Cuba as an American province forever. Thus, in the hour of their expected triumph, the hour of evacuation, they felt, some of them, that they had but changed masters, that the independence for which they had fought was as far off as ever.

SINCE the elections of last November the silver Democrats have been losing their grip in the West, or perhaps it would be better to say, in slangy phrase, their nerve. And it is not to be wondered at, for their advocacy of free silver brought them no successes, no offices, that is commensurate with their hopes. Indeed, after the elections of 1898 they generally found themselves further off from success than in 1896. So the average Democratic politician thinks it is about time to change issues, especially as campaign funds are very short when the issue is silver. To longer fight on the lines of campaign that have twice brought them defeat, and a more overwhelming defeat when tried the second time than the first, seems to the politician who has followed free silver as a party measure rather than from any deep conviction of the justice of the cause fought for, to be folly.

So the drift away from the silver issue and incidentally also away from the policy of fusion with silver Republicans and office seeking Populists, a policy that they have not found to pay. The first break is in Iowa Ex-Governor Boies, who has some notions about silver coinage peculiar to himself, who is opposed to the out and out policy of free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, has carried away his party from its unequivocal advocacy of the financial plank of the Chicago platform. The Democratic State Central Committee after conference with leading Democratic politicians has concluded that to enter another campaign with free silver at 16 to 1 as the issue would be suicidal, that wisdom, political expediency, demanded the dropping of such issue and so they decided that it should be dropped. Further, they resolved to have nothing more to do with fusion, served notice on silver Republicans and fusion Populists that they must drop side issues and be Democrats pure and simple or flock by themselves, for as Democrats they resolved that they would not carry the handicap of such side issues and so shut themselves off from supplies during another campaign. And supplies they have needed very badly, they have been scraping with poverty all through the period of fusion. Only \$1,450 as a state campaign fund last year and they have had enough of it. If advocacy of silver, if fusion will not bring success and offices, if abandonment of the silver issue will bring a fat campaign fund, by all means abandon silver.

The Democratic State Central Committee of Kansas has also resolved to have nothing more to do with fusion, and we presume this means nothing more with free silver advocacy either. And

all this promises a breaking up in the Democratic party, a party to-day without a policy and with a dwindling following.

THE question of so-called currency reform, or more particularly of substituting bank notes for our national paper currency, seems to be side-tracked. Even Mr. H. H. Hanna, head and front of the Indianapolis movement, admits it, though insisting that the need for the enactment of legislation specifically making all our paper and silver currency redeemable in gold, is urgent. He insists that it is important that the gold standard should at once be made our standard in law as in fact, that legislation explicitly requiring the redemption of greenbacks and treasury notes in gold should be passed at once. But why this urgency? We have the gold standard in practice, in practice our greenbacks, etc., are redeemed in gold, then why any great urgency for a change in law that will bring no change in practice? It is because the elections of 1900 may put a silver man in the President's chair. But it may be asked if a silver party comes into power of what service would any legislation we may now enact be in the way of preserving the gold standard, for surely a silver Congress could repeal such gold legislation as might now be passed. In short, it is said that one Congress cannot tie the hands of another, and that therefore it is folly for Congress to waste time in passing laws specifically putting us on the gold basis when we are already on it in practice through the interpretations given to present laws by friendly administrations.

But Congress can tie the hands of a future President if both houses of Congress do not happen to be in accord with such President. And in this lies the urgency for enacting laws specifically placing our currency system on the gold basis, requiring the Secretary of the Treasury to redeem all government paper in gold. Such laws passed and a gold Senate, assured says Hanna, making their repeal impossible during the next four years, the hands of the next President would be tied and the gold standard be safe even in the event of the election of a silver President. But, under the laws as they stand, a silver President could direct the redemption of greenbacks and Treasury notes in silver coin and still remain strictly in the law. And "this," says Mr. Hanna, not the senatorial but Indianapolis Hanna, "would send us at once to a silver . . . basis, and the result would be an unsettling of values and a disturbance of business little less than that which would follow the passage of a bill opening the mints to the free coinage of silver."

But Mr. Hanna's fears on this score are ungrounded, for though silver dollars might be tendered in redemption of greenbacks such silver dollars would, the mints being closed and their number limited as now, have the same value as now or in other words the value of gold. For pray tell what is it that now keeps the silver dollar up to an equal value with gold? It is not redemption, for the silver dollar is not redeemable. It is the force of the monetary demand. And this demand keeps the silver dollar up to the same value as the gold. Should the silver dollar fall even a fraction of a cent under the gold dollar, fall so that it could be bought for less than such dollar, everyone with debts to pay would rush to buy the silver dollars. And what would be the result? The price of the silver dollar would at once be lifted back to par, when the rush to buy it would cease. And this force that now keeps the silver dollar up to par with gold would be equally active and equally effective under a silver president or gold president. Unless the mints were opened to free silver coinage and the stock of money increased the election of a silver president would not cause any lessening in the value of money.

SO THERE is little point to Mr. Hanna's urgency. But as we have said the consideration the pressing of any comprehensive measure of currency reform has been sidetracked. The exclusive right of way has been given to the President's simple suggestion

that a special redemption fund of \$100,000,000 be put aside in the Treasury, that notes when presented to the Treasury for redemption and redeemed out of such fund be held in such fund to be reissued only in exchange for gold. Under this plan notes would never be paid out of such fund save virtually as gold certificates, and hence just as fast as greenbacks and treasury notes were redeemed they would as such be taken out of circulation forever for when they found their way back it would be as gold certificates.

That this proposal of the President's be given a clear track, and all other and broader proposals sidetracked, was the demand made last week in Chicago by Comptroller of the Currency Dawes. And yet thus given a clear track there is no prospect of the early enactment of such suggestion into law. The objection urged to the President's plan for getting the greenbacks into the Treasury, is that a period of speculation is apt to be followed by a crisis, and that when this occurred there would be popular clamor that it had been caused by the withdrawal of such notes and demand for their reissue.

That the advocates of comprehensive schemes of currency reform feel that they have been sidetracked, as Mr. Dawes demanded, is shown by the savage way in which they attack that gentleman for his remarks at Chicago. Thus says the *New York Herald*: "It is difficult to understand why he is permitted to travel about the country uttering bland idiotisms in opposition to the experience of mankind and the convictions of his superiors in the Treasury."

NATIONAL expenditures have at last been so reduced as to bring them within the range of receipts swollen as they are by about \$10,000,000 a month derived from war taxes. Thus last month the deficit was kept down into hundreds of thousands of dollars, the first month since March that the deficit has not been recorded in millions. In January the ordinary expenditures of the government are always much in excess of the monthly average because of the large disbursements on account of interest and therefore there will likely be a considerable deficit for the present month. Still it may be said that we have arrived at the point where great deficits are no longer to be looked for, and consequently the great cash balance of \$290,000,000 in the Treasury, a great hord of money that would be doing better service in circulation, ought to be in circulation and for that matter ought never to have been taken out, will not be likely to suffer further diminution until the time comes for paying over twenty millions to Spain.

A glance at the government finances for the year just closed is instructive. To begin with, we find the expenditures of the War Department to have been about \$203,000,000 and of the Navy Department \$78,000,000 for the year, an increase over 1897 of \$157,000,000 and \$44,000,000, respectively. And these two figures of increase represent the cost of our war with Spain, about \$200,000,000. Now if we take these war expenditures from the total expenditures for the year of \$563,000,000 we find the ordinary expenditures to have been about \$363,000,000. Turning to the other page of the ledger we find that the receipts of the United States during the year 1898 were about \$440,000,000, exclusive of \$199,000,000 received from the \$200,000,000 bond sale, on account of which there remains about \$1,000,000 yet to be paid. Of the \$440,000,000 of receipts it is to be observed that about \$15,000,000 came from the sale of Pacific railroad properties, about \$60,000,000 from the new internal revenue taxes and from two to three millions from the war tax on tea. Deducting these sums from the total receipts, we find that the receipts under old revenue laws were about \$363,000,000, that this just equals the apparent ordinary expenditures of the government, that if there had been no war, no war taxes, a balance would have been struck. So hats off to Mr. Dingley and prayers for his recovery.

THE NOTORIOUS use of the state funds of Pennsylvania for the promotion of the speculative schemes of the politicians of the state machine has led Governor Hastings to suggest a radical departure in the manner of keeping the public funds. Heretofore, by the holding back of school appropriations, etc., the machine has seen to it that the state should have at all times on hand a large balance, and this balance has been distributed on deposit to the pet banks, which in return extend accommodations, lend their influence and support to the political bosses. In this way, through such banks, the funds of the state have been put at the service of the directing spirits of the machine. For long years the pet banks paid no interest on such deposits to the State Treasury, though it is notorious that they ever duly calculated interest on such deposits or on so much of such deposits as were not loaned out to the creatures of the machine, and paid such interest into the pockets of those controlling the distribution of state deposits. Only during the past two years and under a law passed by the last legislature has the state received interest on its deposits.

But the greatest abuse of all in the management of the state funds, their deposit in such pet banks as in return therefore extend accommodation to the favorites of the machine, often with the understanding that the state deposits will not be called for until the advances made to the favorites of the machine are repaid, still continues as a source of corruption, a source extending the influence, perpetuating the power of the machine. And so is Governor Hastings led to suggest that the state discontinue entirely the practice in vogue of keeping its funds on deposit with the banks of the commonwealth, for he submits that the evil above set forth "will never be corrected until the state keeps its own money in its own vaults, as do many of the states and as is done by the United States."

It is objected that the establishment of such system would have a harmful effect in that it would take money out of circulation but better take state funds out of circulation than place them in circulation in a way that accrues to the profit of the machine, that fosters the speculative schemes of the politicians, not industrial development. In short, the state funds are now put and kept in circulation in a way to do what? Build up the power of the machine, and what harm to take out of circulation money thus used. Besides, as Governor Hastings points out, if it were not for the holding back of appropriations, and expenditures equaling, indeed at present exceeding receipts, no large balance would be likely to accumulate in the Treasury.

RING OUT THE OLD—RING IN THE NEW.

THIS is the time of year for making new resolves. As Populists we register anew a resolve to redouble our efforts to ring out the old parties and their venality, ring in a new in its purity. Let Populists take this resolve with us, not lightly to be forgotten and unfulfilled, but solemnly to be earnestly followed and lived up to, and this, the ringing out of the venile and corrupt, the ringing in of the new and pure can be done, not this year but next, for as sure as a just God rules, as sure as the American people love liberty and hate plutocracy, the great body of our people are Populists at heart though they know it not. As the exponent of the needs, the demands of plutocracy stands the Republican party; as the more or less hypocritical, but for this reason the more rather than the less effective servant of plutocracy stands the Democracy; as the uncompromising enemy of plutocracy, as the party of human rights, of liberty, of equality, as opposed to sordid greed, to the observance of the rules of mammon for our guidance, for our government, the way opens for the Peoples party to enter into power, ring out plutocratic rule, ring in that of the people.

For such ringing out of the old venile parties and rule of

plutocracy, and ringing in of the people to govern, the need was never greater. But as the need has grown, as the old parties have fallen more and more under the thumb of plutocracy, more and more subservient to the power of money the occasion and so the opportunity for a new party to arise and drive out of power the old parties, followed only by the deserved execrations of the multitude, has grown likewise. And this opportunity is the Peoples party's.

Plutocracy vs. Populism.

Men say that the rules of divine justice cannot be followed on this earth, that conditions make their observance impossible. But of whose making are these conditions? Followers of the Republican and Democratic parties answer God; as Populists we answer: Man, absurd to charge a just God with making it impossible for man to observe the laws he is commanded to observe. If we are wrong, if plutocracy indeed is right in its answer, the hope of salvation is but held out to us in bitter irony for to save ourselves from perdition we are commanded to do that which we cannot do. But who can conceive of the God to whom we look with hope acting in such a way, holding out false hopes, regarding ever so persistent but necessarily futile attempts to escape perdition, looking upon our discomfitures, our sufferings with devilish glee? Surely none but a worshipper of Mammon, him who scorns to observe the word of God however he may keep the outward form.

But what are these conditions that we are told negative the observance of God's laws on earth, conditions the making of man not God? They are conditions that make it well nigh impossible for him to succeed on this earth in worldly ways who lives by the laws of divine justice and avoids trespassing on the rights of his fellow man; that make it necessary for him who would gather great riches to ignore such laws. And these conditions are of man's making, born of the greed, the covetousness of man. We meet such conditions, such obstacles to success in the way of the honest and upright and God fearing man at every turn. We meet them in our monetary system that fails to preserve the sanctity of contracts, in our banking system that enables the speculative cliques through their control of credits to nurse their own enterprises and at their whim, by a refusal of accommodation, drive others to make forced sales of their property, and so squeeze down values from which squeezing they are prepared to profit; in our transportation system so managed as to shower prosperity upon those enterprises in which the railroad cliques have a more or less direct interest, upon those men who are ready to purchase favors, so as to deny success to those who refuse to compound with dishonesty for success. Thus do we meet with conditions that tempt men to break divine law, even to scorn divine law six days out of every seven as a law pretty in theory but impossible of observance in practice, for they reason its observance means failure while rude trampling upon it brings success.

And such conditions do Republican and Democratic parties uphold, defend. Because of their toleration, if not their abetting in the uprearing of such conditions, they are responsible for such conditions. Yet they would escape responsibility for such conditions by declaring them to be the results of inexorable law, that is the work of God, not man. But as Populists to such responsibility we hold them, we deny that no one on earth is responsible for the conditions that have banished comfort and happiness from thousands of firesides, made dishonesty and corruption, not probity the path to worldly success.

Greed, Sacrilege, the Doctrine of Plutocracy.

Men controlling the Republican and Democratic parties responsible for and profiting from these conditions may find comfort in assuming that the laws of divine justice are only applicable in a state where all men are perfect, that as men on this earth are not perfect such laws are not applicable, that therefore

all men are absolved from their observance on this earth and that without transgressing the divine law, that, therefore, they are not called upon to respect the rules of divine justice in their business dealings or in the government of the country, that if they can get ahead by trampling upon such rules, would be held back from attaining riches by refusing to break them, it would be absurd not to trample. To get ahead by breaking these laws, the laws of right, means getting ahead at the expense of others, means gathering riches and the command over luxuries by depriving one's fellow men of merited success, of the just rewards of their toil, often of the comforts, even the necessities of life, means cheating one's fellows, despoiling them of their accumulations, treating them as serfs without rights where one has the might, but all this seems right to the worshippers of Mammon who control the Republican and Democratic parties, who recognize not the doctrine of the brotherhood of man.

And this is Populism.

For a party giving recognition to that doctrine, aye a party existent that that doctrine may have recognition we turn to the Peoples party. Republicans and Democrats may assert that conditions of God's making are such that God's laws cannot be observed in this world, that to get ahead men must transgress those laws, trample them under foot and incidentally upon the rights of their fellow men, but as Populists we subscribe not to such sacrilegious doctrine, we assert that Christ's teachings were given us for our guidance on earth, that the conditions now making it so hard for men to get ahead, gather worldly possessions save by ignoring such teachings, trampling on the laws of divine justice and despoiling one's neighbors are of man's making, that the Republican and Democratic parties as the parties in power during the last generation are responsible for such conditions, that it is the mission of the Peoples party to deprive such parties of the power that they have abused, remove such conditions so subversive of the doctrine of the brotherhood of man, of liberty, of happiness, of civilization and substitute conditions that instead of driving men from the observance of that doctrine will lead them to observe it in their everyday walks of life, that instead of making it hard as now for men to succeed, and we use the word in its worldly sense, save by ignoring such doctrine will make it hard for those to get ahead who fail to observe it, hard for the greater transgressors of the rights of others even now as it is hard for the petty criminals who seek to gain a life of ease by depriving us of our silver plate and petty trinkets.

And worse transgressor of the rights of others is he who deprives man of the means of a livelihood than he who steals our silver plate. Yet he who for self profit so regulates freight rates as to make it impossible for the industrial establishments of one locality to compete successfully with the establishments of another though possessed of no natural advantage, only the artificial advantage that discrimination in freight rates may give—so regulates freight rates as to shut up industrial establishments in one locality, cause trade to languish and deprive men of the means of livelihood unless sacrificing the homes they may have established they may be able to command the means to migrate to the locality to which business and trade and activity is being arbitrarily transferred, is lauded in the business community for his perspicacity while he who steals our silver plate suffers for his misdeeds.

Gold the Master.

But let us look a little closer into the conditions which tend to render weak and helpless men who practice the rules of equity and justice in their everyday life, who avoid transgressing on the rights of others; conditions that are a hindrance in such men's paths and that open the way to great success for those who lead other than upright lives. And first one brief glance at the conditions reared up by a false monetary standard that we have deified and that have interfered greatly with a just distribution of

the products of toil, hence with the production of wealth and the enrichment and progress of mankind. We have been worshipping gold to such an extent that we have exalted into a deity before which we are helpless, and helpless will we remain until we cease to worship at the shrine of such false deity.

So far have men carried this gold worship that they look upon gold as master, master of our fortunes, of our future prosperity, of the success or failure of our enterprises. And indeed under the conditions now existent, while we labor under the monetary system to which we have tied ourselves down it is. There is no denying it. Even our gold idolators proclaim Gold the Master. Just such a heading does the *New York Times* give to a review of the past and a forecast of the present year penned by a Mr. A. L. Wilson, financial solon of London. Writing in felicitious vein of the expansion of the world's trade, of the general industrial development of the past year and of the vast development that he sees ahead for the present he adds: "Of money to carry on the numerous industrial developments looming ahead there should be no lack, as long as the mines of Africa, India, Australasia and America continue to produce increasing quantities of gold. Upon this production (mark you well) the future hinges, at any rate for some years to come."

So the industrial development, the progress of the world hangs upon the production of gold. If the production of gold falls off the promised industrial development will be hung up, the progress of the world halted. Thus it is that by making our monetary system rest on gold we make gold the master of our fortunes, make our fortunes, our prosperity hang on the production of gold. Check that production and the development of the world is retarded, retarded for lack of money to carry on such development; increase that production and the development of the world will be stimulated. And why such stimulation? Because increased production tends to cheapen gold, and, of course, raise the price of everything measured in gold. And as prices increase it takes less of the products of labor to pay interest and rents and taxes. In short, the fundholder and landlord and officeholder have all more or less fixed money incomes. So, when prices rise it takes less of the products of labor to pay them what is due to them, and more of the products of labor remain to recompense the employer and laborer for their toil. Consequently as gold is cheapened and prices rise the recompense of employer and laborer is increased, they are stimulated to greater efforts, wealth accumulates more rapidly, industrial development is quickened. Of course appreciating gold and falling prices reverse all this, retard industrial development, indeed cause industrial stagnation, as we have had full opportunity to learn during the past several years.

But increasing gold production, it is asserted, is at last bringing a turn in the swing of the pendulum. Let us hope so and hope that production will go on increasing. Within the last ten years nations that theretofore had used silver or paper for their currency have sought to put their monetary systems on a gold basis and thus has resulted a vacuum into which the increased gold production of the world has been poured, so that though such increase dates from several years back it has not, at least not until recently, been shared in by the gold-using world to an extent sufficient to raise prices and stimulate industry. Indeed the demands for gold to fill extraordinary vacuums made by Austria-Hungary, Russia and Japan have been so great that not enough of the increased production of gold has been left for the rest of the gold-using world to supply increasing demands of a growing trade, and hence gold, instead of becoming cheaper, became dearer, values constantly shrunk and the growth of trade and industrial development was retarded during these last ten years of increasing gold production. But, says the afore quoted Mr. Wilson, and after asserting that the future hinges upon the production of gold: "I think the gold to be produced in 1899 may be more effective in stimulating industrial production than it has been in any recent year." Hence his hopes. "Hitherto" he

adds "much of this new gold has been hoarded by countries desirous of increasing their stock of the metal, and especially by Russia and the United States. Russia alone has swept some £30,000,000 or more of the last three or four years' supply out of reach of the credit markets of London and the Continent, and it does not seem to me that this locking up process can go much further. Should it not to do so . . . the new supply poured in week by week must give an impetus not merely to prices on the Stock Exchanges and the Bourses, but to the creation of new enterprises, by which the fresh capital may be used up."

A Fable.

Here we have a hopeful view of the situation and a view not without warrant, but why hang our prosperity upon the production of gold, why should we so exalt gold that when its production falls off industrial development must slacken, the world cease to move? It reminds us of the fable of the city that had to be wound up every twenty years, where towards the expiration of a twenty years' period and the city was about to run down, the people acting upon the proclamation of their good king, shut themselves up in their habitations in preparation for a period of dormancy, leaving open only the entrance to a magnificent stairway to a magnificent palace, and inviting the entrance of the accidental visitor. Such stairway was arranged as a treadmill, the working of which wound up the city for a renewed lease of twenty years' life and the top of which and the entrance to the palace the visitor could never reach until the city was wound up. It never occurred to this people to wind up their own city when about to run down and so keep it in continuous life until some outsiders who had once wound up the city as vagrant boys, and then made it their abode and grown to manhood, saw loss of their livelihood staring them in the face when, at the end of the twenty years' period for which they as boys had wound up the city, the king issued his proclamation ordering the people to lock themselves up in their houses and go to sleep until awakened by some happy accident. Not possessed of the ability to enter into a state of suspended activity and inanimateness, these once winders of the city, much startled at the prospect of the city in which they had prospered suddenly becoming dead, offered to wind it up ere it ran down. And then it dawned upon the good king and people that they had it in their power to keep alive all the time, that they need not periodically retire into a state of dormancy from which only accident could awaken them.

The Nature of Money.

Now this fable is all very absurd and the king and people thus letting their future hang on the merest accidents seem all very simple but are we not just about as simple in hanging our future, our industrial development, the progress of the human race on the accidents affecting the production of gold? Scarcity of money by pressing down prices, undermining profits and so the stimulus to enterprise retards, checks industrial development. And when gold is the basis for all our money a decline in production means such scarcity and such retardation of industry. Consequently with such a monetary basis the industrial development of the world must often be hindered, halted or even lost. But there is no more reason to have industrial development halted because of a scarcity of money than to have it halted by a scarcity of cars or locomotives with which to effect the exchange of products. If there is a scarcity of cars men can supply it by building more; so if there is a scarcity of money men can supply it by making more. Of course this cannot be done if we decree all the money shall be made of gold, neither could a scarcity of cars be supplied if we decreed all cars should be built of ebony. But there is as little reason or rather as much unreason in making our money of gold as there would be to making our freight cars of ebony.

Man makes many of his tools to effect an exchange of commodities. Why should he not make money, why must he depend

upon the amount of gold he can dig out of the ground? Money, and it makes no difference whether it be stamped on metal or paper, is but the representative of value, is but a check certifying that the possessor has rendered such and such a value to society, sold products or labor of such and such a value and which check will be honored by the whole community, taken by all tradesmen in payment for their goods. And it is this, the fact that a piece of money is a check that will be honored by the whole community that gives it currency, makes it acceptable by all men in payment for their wares. Yet he who would get money at first-hand must now go and dig for it, dig for gold, though it is certain that men could render greater service to society and add more greatly to the wealth of the country by labor directed in other ways. Indeed, to dig gold to meet a use that could be much more satisfactorily met by a less costly material is labor wasted.

Yet by our monetary system we force men to such labor for upon such labor and the success of such labor hinges the prosperity of the world. Still a dollar is but a check certifying that the possessor has rendered a service to society of the value of the dollar, that for such amount society is indebted to him. If then the government employs a man in the building of a railroad or some other public work that will be of great service to the community and issues to that man paper money certifying that he has rendered by his labor services of a certain value to the community, why is there not just as much behind such money as there is behind the money that is issued to the gold miner in payment for his labor. There certainly is just as much value behind it unless a railroad is of less value to the community than gold, unless labor in railroad building is less worthy, less useful, than labor in gold mining. And if he who works at railroad building, we use this as but an example, renders a service to society as valuable as he who works at gold mining paper money paid him and certifying that he has rendered to society service of such a value surely would of right entitle him to receive an equal value at the hands of society at large. And such paper money thus issued by the government, paper in effect certifying that the possessor had rendered a service to society at large, that society was in consequence indebted to such possessor, that the government would receive such paper in payment of all dues to it, would be received by all men as freely as gold money for in fact there would be no difference between the nature of such gold and paper money save that one certificate of value rendered and check upon the community to be redeemed in services would be stamped on metal the other on paper.

Of course if the government should issue much of such paper currency, a large amount for a small service rendered, such large amount of money would buy from society but a small amount of goods equal in value to the service rendered. In other words, money being gotten cheaply would buy little, prices would be high as money was cheap. And on the other hand, by issuing little money, making money hard to get, the government might make money dear and prices low. Further, any violent fluctuations in the value of money are injurious for such fluctuations violate contracts, derange all business. Therefore it is the duty of government to supply a volume of money sufficient to preserve a stability of value and to do this it must regulate the issue of money by the barometer of prices, expanding when the price level falls contracting when it rises, thus giving to money fixed value and making it an honest measure. And this duty Populists demand the government perform.

Gold the Master?

Republican Answers: Aye, Verily; Populist: NO, MAN.

But the Republicans, what say they? That gold is master of the situation, of our fortunes, of our industrial development, aye verily, and before it they bow humbly, satisfied, for gold as master they say is just. And Democrats, what say they? They

declare that gold is a bad master, but they, no more than Republicans, would make man master. Man, they say, cannot be trusted as master, cannot be trusted to be his own master. We will raise silver up onto the plane of divinity, worship silver along with gold as our master, hang our fortunes, our prosperity, upon the production of the two metals. So here we have Democratic policy, the most advanced radical Democratic policy that by no means is certain to control the party in 1900. Like the Republicans, they would leave our future prosperity, our supply of money, its value and hence its honesty dependent upon accident. We turn to Republicans and ask, who should be master? and get the answer gold; to Democrats and get for response gold and silver raised and worshipped as a dual deity; but turn to Populists and query, Gold the master? And the answer reverberates in thunder tones, No, Man.

And can the American people make but one response if this issue is brought fairly home to them? Can they answer with Republicans our master is gold, our fate must hang upon the production of gold, if that production falls off industrial development must cease, our nation, our civilization fall, even as in the dark ages preceeding the discovery of America? Can they answer with Democrats our master is a dual one, gold and silver, upon the accidents effecting the production of which shall hinge our fate, our future, that if the joint production of gold and silver be not sufficient to meet the demands for money and sustain prices we have no hope, no escape from industrial stagnation, but must suffer under the curse of our joint deity? Or will they answer: we know no God but a just God, of our future we are our own masters, dependent for our prosperity neither in accidents affect the production of gold or silver but upon our own good sense, our firmness in adhering to principles of justice whereby we will merit the success that a just God shall not fail to vouchsafe to us?

Banks Made to Serve People, Not People Banks.

The verdict must be on the side of Populism, must be if the case is fairly presented and to thus fairly present the case Populists should resolve. And now a word as to our currency system. The New York *Herald* complains that "while nearly all the loanable money in the country has found its way into Wall street and is loaned at low rates to enable speculators to carry any sort of securities the clamor rises that 'the currency is good enough.'" And so is the system that leads to this gathering of money in New York and its use in promoting speculative ventures good enough to pour profits into the pockets of the speculative cliques. But for the people our currency never will be good enough until it is taken out of the hands of the speculative cliques and entrusted in the hands of the people, that is the government.

But this is not the direction in which our currency reformers are moving. They are moving in just the opposite direction, to make the currency worse, not better, for the people, though better indeed for the purpose of turning the profits of the industry of the many into the pockets of the speculative cliques. Of this kind of currency reform the Republicans and Gold Democrats stand as the avowed champions, as far as it has avowed champions. Their aim is to retire all forms of national currency save perhaps coin certificates, and leave the void open to be filled by bank paper without any special security and to be issued about as the banks see fit. Such extension of the powers of the banks would but give the controlling speculative cliques greater strength in the line of causing violent price fluctuations. For manipulating not only credits as now but the volume of paper currency as well their power in the way of forcing forced sales, depressing prices and wrecking enterprises competing with their monopolies, interfering with their plans and profits, or of which they desired to gain possession at wreckage prices, would be more irresistible than ever, as well nigh irresistible as their power now is, while they would be more able than ever to extend credits to their own enterprises and support to their speculative

schemes, thus enabling them, through stock manipulation, to work off securities of much inflated value upon the public to their own great profit, of course to the public's great loss. And if having thus gained control over the regulation of the volume of our paper currency they suspended gold payments as, it being to their interest, they not unlikely would, they would have the power not only to cause violent fluctuations in price levels, not only the power to drive certain individuals and corporations opposing them or refusing to pay tribute to them to make forced sales of their products, but would have the power of changing the general level of prices in such directions and with such permanency as they saw fit.

And how do the Democrats hold themselves in regard to these plans for remodelling our currency and banking system on the theory that the people were made to serve the banks, not the banks to serve the people? They condemn the plans proposed but bring forward other plans that would work out to the same end. In short, in place of making the national banks the masters of our fortunes, they would hinge our prospects of success on the whim of state banks over to whom, and so the speculative cliques, they would hand the issue and control of our paper currency.

The Trusts and Tariff Nostrums.

So again do we see the need of ringing out both old parties and ringing in a new if plutocracy is to be overthrown and the people again made masters over their own fortunes. And the opportunity for ringing out the old ringing in the new, re-establishing the people in full possession of their rights, their heritage, opens before us promisingly. There is a ferment of unrest among the people that cannot be hidden, that a plutocratic and venile press must take notice of, dare not longer ignore. Encroachments on the liberties, the rights, the pockets of the people, aggressions and evils too manifest to be longer denied are admitted, even pointed out in the hope that the people demanding redress in a way that cannot be ignored may be turned from the right track of finding such redress and so led to beat out their strength on some side issue without shaking the bulwarks of plutocracy.

Of this evidence multiplies on many sides. Thus the Philadelphia *Ledger*, a paper of Republican leanings, and speaking of the paper trust, formed to control the output of paper and put up the price, remarks:—

"Whenever a trust rears its ugly head under cover of the tariff article in which it deals should be put on the free list. That should be a principle as strictly observed in tariff legislation as the principle of protection to American industry. It would not be a bad idea to incorporate a general provision to this effect in the tariff law itself, enabling an importer to get his goods in free of duty upon furnishing proof that a monopolistic trust to control the price of similar articles had been formed in this country."

But when the Dingley tariff bill was pending in the Senate, when just such an amendment was proposed and urged by Senator Pettigrew, what assistance did he get? From Republicans who, in their national platform, had declared for a tariff "equally opposed to foreign control and domestic monopoly" none at all, from Democrats only the lukewarmest. Their votes indeed were recorded for such amendment but in its advocacy their voices were not raised. They played politics at the nation's expense. The adoption of such amendment would have purified the protective tariff, taken from Democrats the ground and only ground for an effective attack. And clinging to such ground, unwilling to have the tariff issue practically settled and in a way that would have taken from all trusts and combines the shelter of tariff duties, they welcomed the passage of the tariff as a bill most considerate of monopolies, indeed as a monopoly tariff not as a tariff protective of all interests, of consumers as well as producers, rejoicing that the bill should pass in its most odious shape, a shape sure to work great injury to the people but which they hoped would redound to the profit of the Democratic party.

And now they seek to make an issue out of the tariff that they did not half try to purify of its objectionable features when they had the chance, features that they might possibly have removed, that now, when they cannot, they attack. Thus in speaking of trusts the *Ledger* remarks with some violence of language: "Nearly all of them would fall to pieces but for the vicious monopolistic and prohibitory rates of duty in the Dingley bill, which seems to have been ingeniously devised, not to raise revenue, nor even to protect American labor, but to promote the interests of vast aggregations of capital at the expense of the consumer and the wage earner."

If with like vehemence such papers as the *Ledger* had opposed the passage of the Dingley bill until amended as proposed by Senator Pettigrew something might have been accomplished. But their earnest opposition when opposition would have been effective was wanting. Yet now they come to the attack when the attack can serve but this one end: To divert the American people from attacking the trusts where they are vulnerable, from uncovering and removing the great cause of their being. For that cause lies not in tariff duties but railroad discrimination in their favor and the primary and only effective remedy for the evil is not the repeal of tariff duties but the nationalization of our railroads, and the operation of our railroads as common carriers serving all men, all corporations, alike and on the same terms, charging like rates to all men for like services—an equality of treatment that is now foreign to railroad management for the trusts get not only better service, the railroads often acting for them as storehousemen and local distributors, but for smaller charges than their rivals pay for mere transportation of their goods and who because of just this discrimination cannot successfully compete. And thus do the railroads give to those they favor a monopoly, thus do they enable the trusts and combines to hold on to monopoly.

But into the details of railroad discrimination we have no purpose to enter here. We only desire to point out the efforts making to turn men's attention from real to secondary causes so that even though they succeed and force the removal of a secondary cause they will have gained no material relief, the power of their oppressors to oppress, the rule of plutocracy be in no way disturbed. As the Cincinnati platform of the Peoples party affirms: "No other reforms will avail much if corporations are permitted to say how much they shall take from the producers and how much they shall leave to them." And this is a truth that Populists should drive home. Keep the growing body of American citizens, Populists at heart though they know it not and now in a ferment of unrest excited by gross injustices and aggressions that they scarce grasp but for which they seek redress, keep them on the right track for gaining that redress and Populism will triumph over plutocracy in 1900.

National Telegraphs.

And now in closing we point to one more sign of the times. It is to some comment of the New York *Tribune* that we desire to direct attention—comment on the plans of Sir Sandford Fleming, supported by Mr. Chamberlain, for connecting all parts of the British Empire "with cables landing solely on British ground, and owned and operated not by private companies but by the Imperial Government itself."

"Sir Sandford," continues the *Tribune* "argues strongly in favor of the latter feature, using the land telegraphs of the United Kingdom as an example. The latter are owned and operated by the government; why should not the cables be? The acquirement of the telegraphs by the government has been profitable to the government and has resulted in a great reduction of rates and improvement of service, and consequently in a much greater use of the system by the public. Thus, the year before the government took possession of the lines less than seven million messages were transmitted. Within a year after its acquisition of them the patronage increased fully 50 per cent. and in the tenth year thereafter no less than twenty-nine million messages were carried, and the surplus of revenue over expenditure was more than

\$1,720,000. Similar results, he believes, would follow governmental acquisition of the cable systems. Of course, the taking over of telegraph lines in this country would be a considerable novelty and would be strenuously objected to by many on various grounds, including even the idea that it would be 'Socialistic.' The most judicious would regard it, however, as merely involving a question of economic expediency. So far as propriety goes, it seems to be no less within the sphere of government to transmit telegraphic than to carry written messages."

Now we not undertake to assert that such men as Whitelaw Reid, editor of the *Tribune*, but who probably never saw the article from which we quote, have become Populistic in their ideas so far as to advocate government ownership and operation of our telegraph lines, but that such a paper as the *Tribune* should find it politic to write in this way is undeniably significant as evidencing a drift of popular thought in the direction of Populism. And now just see how near the *Tribune* has come to a plagiarism, doubtless unconscious, of the Cincinnati platform of the Peoples party. "We call attention" reads that platform, "to the public school system and the postal service as exemplifications of a beneficent state socialism, which our people would only relinquish with their lives. And we demand that the carrying of messages written with pen and ink be amplified to embrace messages written by electricity, and that the train of cars which carries our letters be owned by the government to carry those who wrote the letters."

Populist's Opportunity to Ring Out the Old Ring in the New.

So the world "do move." The American people disgusted with the old parties, with their venality and corruption, with their failure to govern for the weal of the many, their success in governing so as to promote the welfare of a few are ready for change, and seeking a redress of grievances, already Populists at heart, an opportunity opens before the Peoples party such as has seldom been offered a party, an opportunity that availed of, and availed of it can be if Populists have the will, will lead onto success, make the Peoples party the means of throwing over the rule of plutocracy that now cramps our energies, hinders our growth, denies comforts and the pursuit of happiness to the many, debauches with its corruption the few and the instrument of restoring to our people their heritage, of establishing on this earth a rule of liberty, equality, fraternity.

LIVING IN HOPES OF BETTER THINGS.

AT THE close of the year 1897 we were promised great things in a business way for the year 1898. In the making of these confident promises trade journals, without an exception that we can recall, joined, financial journals joined, the metropolitan press joined, those business men, who caused themselves to be interviewed, or whom the journals bent on reporting nothing but signs of revival were willing to interview, all joined. And now, at the close of 1898, we are told that all these promises have been realized; that the highest anticipations, the wildest hopes, have been exceeded; that the country was never doing such a large business, never producing so much, never so prosperous. Yet among these paeans of success, of triumph, of prosperity, we strike on one discordant note. We are still being fed, elated, on promises of better things. If last year's trade was a disappointment, forget the disappointment in anticipation of a year of unrivalled prosperity surely at hand.

Now we do not feel disposed to raise the cry of wolf, to sound needless alarms, but we know of many business men, many manufacturers, who are fearfully tired of this living on hopes of better times, of struggling manfully without recompense, of laboring hard without profit, buoyed up by the hope of better things. And some do we know who have so tired themselves with trying to talk themselves and others into the belief that business is flourishing, profits satisfactory, when they are not, and so irritable that their promises of prosperity

have, so far as they themselves are concerned and as comes within their ken, been unfulfilled, their hopes unrealized, and who, so oft suffering cruel disappointment, are so uneasy about prospects that to mildly question the rosiness of present conditions and prospects excites not the smile of an easy, self-satisfied contempt, but an explosion of anger.

Undoubtedly there is a vast business being done, a much greater business than a year ago but a great deal is being done at prices that leave no margin of profit. The why and wherefore of this we pointed out last week, we need not go into repetition here. Suffice it to say that we have so undermined our home markets, so hindered their natural growth and expansion that they are not broad enough by far to absorb what our mills are capable of producing, that as a consequence much machinery must lie idle unless a market can be had for the output abroad. And to get that market we have to offer products at prices so low as to mean cutting of wages, cutting of profits.

Nor dependent upon such markets can we hope, while clinging to the gold standard, to see any advance in prices unless there comes an advance in prices over all the gold using world. "At some points" says the *Philadelphia Press*, and in the midst of a most exuberant article too, "prices may be advanced, but it is hard to see how or where. If iron and steel go up exports will stop and some \$90,000,000 of product will be dumped on the home market." Besides, the smallest rise in price will lead to greatly increased production for there are many iron and steel makers with idle plants who are anxious to start up their furnaces and mills the moment they can get a market for their products at prices that will enable them to earn a part, be it ever so little, of their present fixed charges. And to get such market, the moment active producers raise the price those now inactive will seek to gain the custom of the now active producers by offering to supply it at lower prices.

Thus between November 25th and December 30th last there came an advance in the price of Bessemer pig iron at Pittsburg from \$10.15 to \$10.75 per ton. And the result? We again quote from the *Press*. "New furnaces (new here meaning idle) are about to blow in which will add 1,000,000 tons to the annual production" and inevitably check any material rise in prices.

In the west and north-west and also on the northern Pacific slope there has been a marked improvement in business during 1898 as compared to 1897. And also in the iron centers of western Pennsylvania and eastern Ohio there has been great activity. But in the New England States, in the manufacturing centers of the Middle States, throughout the cotton raising south, in drought stricken California there was no appreciable betterment of business during 1898 and men are still asked to live on hopes, on promises as they were asked at the close of 1897.

This is a brief summary of the special reports to *Bradstreet's*, which journal, however, introduces them with a flourish of trumpets, its own remarks being most roseate. And now, that we may not be thought to have read these reports in pessimistic vein, let us quote a little. Doubtless when we say that the reports from the cities of the middlewest and northwest and also the northern Pacific slope indicate a material improvement in business we will be believed, and so we need not speak of such reports in detail. Therefore we turn to the reports of business in the cities of the East. And first as to Philadelphia. "In wool," we read, "the year opened fairly well, but has shown a decided shrinkage in volume and price. Textile manufacturers have run about 75 per cent. of their machinery as a class, but in the carpet trade it is estimated 50 per cent. of the looms have been idle." And this in the greatest carpet manufacturing town in the world! And is this any mark of general prosperity in the nation? On the contrary it is irrefutable evidence that our working people are scrimped, that they are not earning sufficient to give them means to purchase luxuries, supply themselves with comfortable surroundings, after purchasing the necessities of

life. True, carpets are things that men can do without, but they are a thing that the American farmer and mechanic will not do without unless constrained by necessity. And true also the want for carpets is one of the first wants that men will deny themselves when their earnings fall off, for they can deny themselves the satisfaction of such want with less discomfort than they must suffer from the non-satisfaction of other wants, the wants of the stomach and the back. Consequently it is but natural that in times of depression the carpet industry should be one of those worst struck, and also one of the slowest to revive. But the fact that in spite of increasing industrial activity the demand for carpets has slackened rather than increased shows that our people, our workingmen, though finding more work than a year ago are finding work at a level of wages that pauperizes them, drives them a step backwards in their command over the comforts of life, fails to enable them to lift themselves a step higher on the plane of civilization, to continue to lift themselves in the way that, though indeed interrupted at times, has been the pride and glory of our people since the foundation of the nation.

But to return to the quotation we were making. Textile manufactures in Philadelphia were under discussion and thus sums up *Bradstreet's*: "The output of 1898 is less, both in volume and value, than in 1897, and the business is spoken of as very unsatisfactory, but (we still live in hopes) 1899 looks more promising." "Boots and shoes show an improvement," continues this *Bradstreet* report, "and so do paper and kindred lines, the percentage being about 20 per cent. in volume and 10 per cent. to 12 per cent. in value; 1899 promises good returns. In lumber November and December business largely increased the sales, which run 20 per cent. ahead of 1897, and the advance in price helps to make the profit margins larger. Sales of groceries are 10 per cent. ahead of 1897, with little or no advance in profit, because of competition and close prices. In iron and coal the tendency has recently been toward improvement. It is thought iron will show 10 to 15 per cent. increase in production, anthracite coal 10 per cent. decrease (this being due to railroad discrimination) and bituminous 10 per cent. to 15 per cent. increase. Prices have not materially changed, save recently, and, as much business is being done under old contracts, values show no marked difference, but the prospects for 1899 are encouraging. Much was looked for from 1898, when the year began, but the Cuban troubles and subsequent Spanish war held back the desired improvement; the general course of business is hardly regarded as satisfactory; some lines have at times had a very good trade, while others experienced reversed conditions. This, with the disposition to force goods to a sale, which has prevailed in all lines much of the year, has probably resulted in an increased output, while profits as a rule are hardly likely to be larger than in 1897. The opinion is also expressed that the steady cheapening of merchandise is resulting in the production of inferior goods; manufacturers are endeavoring to save on the grade what they cannot make on the price. Everybody is hoping that we are about to enter on a season of continued prosperity, but conservative business men feel that it is a hope rather than a condition already prevailing."

And so, disappointed in the business of the past year, disappointed that promises of prosperous business were not fulfilled, hopes not realized, we continue to do business, to struggle often without show of profit but merely to keep from sinking, keep the savings of a lifetime invested in mill and factory from being dissipated, in hopes of better things. But what assurance have we that the promises made now stand any better show of realization than the promises made with equal confidence a year ago? Let us hope that they will be, but let us beware of building castles on the hope, for such castle building, if there is no warrant for it, a castle building that leads man to prepare for an anticipated demand, industrial activity that never comes, leads the way to wreck and ruin.

And now let us look at Boston. There also men are not happy over the business of the past year, but happy, if they are happy at all, over the prospect for improvement in 1899. Thus says *Bradstreets*: "Cotton goods have met with a slow sale during most of 1898, but the market closes firm and conditions are much stronger. Woolen goods have met with slow business, but the prospect is for improvement in 1899."

New York as a city of jobbers and distributors, rather than of producers, has not, the reports say, fared so badly. "Business for the year 1898," to quote again from *Bradstreets*, "has been, on the whole, satisfactory to the distributive trade of New York, but the early promise of an active year's trading in dry goods and clothing did not materialize. Sales in this line did not equal expectations and are below the average for some years past, though equal to those of 1897. . . . With the exception of dry goods there appears to have been a larger volume of business transacted in 1898 than in 1897, but values seem to have declined in an almost corresponding degree."

From Baltimore the report is that "in the first half of the year trade showed an improvement, but in the last half business has fallen off." Yet "a very encouraged feeling in all lines of trade is found" for "the coming year, it is thought, will be a prosperous one." So we see that in Baltimore too there is living on hopes not profits. Further south, in the cities of the cotton belt, business has been even more pronouncedly unsettled and unsatisfactory.

In the west and northwest there has, thanks to the bountiful wheat crop and active demand, been something better than a living in the hope of better things. There men have experienced better times, profited from business improvement, generally bettered their condition. Yet even from this favored section comes a discordant note. St. Louis has felt better times, but "opinions differ as to the outlook for the future. Many jobbers expect an increased trade, and especially is this so in the boot and shoe line, yet many feel discouraged over the apparent tendency to consolidate and form large companies, which at the present time looks dangerous to legitimate trade." We would but remark that they are only experiencing the natural result of an era of cheapness which is an era of combinations and here drop the subject to join in the general hoping for better things.

POOR RICHARD'S WORDS OF WISDOM.

HE that would live in peace and at ease,
Must not speak all he knows, nor judge all he sees.

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SEARCH others for their virtues, thyself for thy vices.

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APPROVE not of him who commends all you say.

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THREE may keep a secret, if two of them are dead.

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A MAN is never so ridiculous by those qualities that are his own, as by those that he affects to have.

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To be humble to superiors is duty, to equals courtesy, to inferiors nobleness.

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Do not do that which you would not have known.

WHEN renewing your subscription to THE AMERICAN take a look at our Special Clubs and see which other papers you would like to take with it.

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YOU can save yourself something, and yet strengthen the reform press and advance the cause of Populism by availing of THE AMERICAN'S Special Clubs. They have been arranged with precisely these ends in view.

BOOK REVIEWS.

An Experimental Tramp, His Work and Reward.

The Workers An Experiment in Reality. By WALTER A. WYCKOFF. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.50.

This is the second volume of a book which has been received as a revelation, the like of which the world has never known till now. The author, born to wealth and ease, took it into his head to waste a couple of years of his early manhood in acting the part of an honest, unskilled workingman, who tramps the country in search of whatever jobs turn up. That word waste is deliberately used, in spite of the patent fact that the adventurer is more than compensated for his "experiment in reality" by the gain of the glories of authorship, heightened by the aid of pictures to the semi-sanctity of martyrdom. There is just a possibility that the "experiment," advertised to the full in a popular magazine, may have proved a profitable expedient towards securing the "reality" of his appointment as "Assistant Professor of Political Economy in Princeton University." Nevertheless the top-most fact in these two harrowing tales of woe is the waste of years, of effort, of physical strength and of ambition. A large proportion of genuine martyrdoms have been entirely uncalled for. There is profound respect, if not always admiration, for those who suffer for conscience sake. It is another thing to be commanded to gush sympathetic tears over a well-to-do young man who calculatingly invests his health and time and business wits in playing at poor workingman for a spell. This is a free country, even freaks enjoy an almost unlimited field for experiment, and there can be no objection to any young fellow indulging a misguided ambition of this sort. As a fact thousands of good men, and a few great ones, have done and are doing this identical thing. The chronicles of biography, especially of Quixotes of the pen, glow with pictures of the tramp phase in the careers of men who would have scorned the idea of turning them to commercial account under the phylactery of sanctimonious philanthropy.

One lamentable, perhaps after all it is the most lamentable, reflection this book provokes is that the great public of the United States should know and think so little about the poor slaves of our civilization as to take Mr. Wyckoff's adventure as something new and wildly sensational. The fact has its farcical side, but there is tragedy within. The question, "Am I my brother's keeper?" is answered affirmatively by the author in the sense of being keeper of a human menagerie, in which he exposes one cage and boldly goes in among the beasts, demanding our breathless admiration at the feat. The poor we have always with us, but we are supposed to need the showman's genius to reveal and make them interesting. We are familiar from babyhood with the odd-job man, afflicted with a poor constitution, or a rich thirst, or a large wife and small family, who seems anchored to a local area that never yields him new clothes or a day's food in advance. We know the out-of-work mechanic, worthy fellow, proud spirited when all is hopeless, and we know the tramp of high and low degree in his misery. The papers familiarize us with true tales of old prosperous industries crippled or killed by causes not now within our ken, but facts, grim and tragic facts. We read of throngs of model citizens, families, sometimes whole communities, suddenly or gradually deprived of their work, turned adrift for a heartless world to chill into despair, the only open highways leading to pauperism, drunkenness, crime, and the devil's lottery of tramp life. What are we to think of our Christian citizenship when we can calmly skim all these things as mere items of the day's news, and yet go to a store and spend dollars on the same stuff dished up with goody-goody flavoring and pretty pictures to make misery enjoyable at our cosy fireside?

Waste of effort, time, sympathy? Let us see. This going down among the poor to write them up, and incidentally to lift the enterprising writer up a trifle earlier, if not higher than these same poor, this is no new thing. To go no farther back than forty years ago there appeared an epoch-making work. Mayhew's *London Labour and London Poor*, a work as novel and thorough as it was awakening and inspiring to social reformers of every color. The almost innumerable orders, employments, and living resources of the workers and non-workers were classified (writing from memory), as those who do work, those who would work if they were able, and those who do not work because they cannot or will not. The actual life experience of representatives of each class was taken in verbatim shorthand, with portraits of each person, in his daily calling, and this great work, the

most remarkable ever compiled in sociology, may be said to have originated the type of literature purporting to tell how the other half of the world lives. All the books in this group have the merit of presenting reality. They do not print travelers' tales of personal adventure. Such as they give are at least the identical scenes we shall find if we make our own inspection. It is the only worthy testimony, that of faithful eye witnesses who let the real people speak for themselves. Mr. Wyckoff fancied he saw more glory in playing the part of a tramp working man. There is no denying that this is a theatrical age. The chief end of life, judging from the newspaper mirror, is to put on clothes, airs and customs in imitation of somebody else, usually somebody at a distance in wealth or nationality. The rage for dressing up and posing as other than our true selves, is confined to no class nor age. The actor is our idol. The art of superficial mimicry is set above the grace of being one's own simple self. It is no great tribute, but such as it is let us make the most of it, to admit that the tendency is to ape people supposed to be above us in the worldly scale. Let us hope that the craze for novelty, the fashion here set, is not going to flood the land with imitation virtuous tramps. There are too many real ones already, and golf still affords plenty of room for indulgence in sham love of outdoor exercise. James Greenwood's one night experience as an "Amateur Casual," effected a radical reform of poorhouse night wards. Thomas Wright's famous book by "A Journeyman Engineer," which he actually was, revealed the experience and philosophic views of the labor question as it then stood. Political economists, socialists and many other competent and disinterested writers, besides Jacob Riis, have deluged the land of recent years with treatises on every phase of the great problem. As a mere narrative of his personal adventures Mr. Wyckoff's story is necessarily interesting within its limitations, as is that of anyone who ventures out of beaten tracks. But he was not the thing he posed as being, he had not the birth and rude bringing up, and the adolescent experiences of the working man he presumes to personate. His whole performance is artificial, like his get-up, and his nauseous investment of his dummy's untrained mind, with the polished pieties of a too priggish son of culture. Those of us who possess first hand knowledge of, by long and intimate personal intercourse with, the poor toilers of great cities and the tramp types of the country roads, must be excused for our inability to take the Wyckoff "experiment" as a serious contribution to this momentous subject. It is very well in its way, as a sensational experiment, in artificial "realism," calculated to impress the matinee girl on the lookout for an outlandish treat in sentimentalism. If the sale-success of his book should tempt the author to some similar venture he will do better if he tries to think the thoughts and speak the blunt English of the character he may assume, as the real article is labelled by being made to talk in the canting tone of the familiar night owls, who haunt Gospel Missions and Midnight Meetings.

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A History of the Dutch Colonies in New York.

The Goede Vrouw of Mana-ha-ta. At Home and in Society. By MRS. JOHN KING VAN RENSSELAER. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.

We cannot forbear expressing a regret that a different title was not chosen for this book. Once its meaning is understood the odd title is all well enough and by no means inappropriate, but at first sight it most certainly suggests the novel, and by creating this false impression will, we much fear, turn away many from a work of exceptional interest, real merit and substantial value. What Mrs. Van Rensselaer has in fact given in this volume is a history and a very clear picture of the life in the Dutch colonies in New York from the time of the first settlement in 1609 down to 1760. She approaches her subject from the side of the worthy women who emigrated to the New World with a purpose to establish there comfortable homes, and who by their industry, thrift, intelligence and good common sense not only contributed their full share in building up a prosperous and self-supporting community, but also took an active part in the discussion and settlement of the various important questions which the colonists had to face. But while the author aims especially to acquaint her readers with these Dutch women and what they were and did, she does not exalt them unduly nor ignore the men who worked side by side with them. Neither does she always uphold the wisdom of the "petticoat" influence and counsel, upon which she puts such emphasis, as is quite evident from what she says of the *vrouwen* advising against opposing the English invaders and, previously, against preparing to resist the expected

attack. Thus here, upon one of the most momentous questions that ever arose in the history of the Dutch colony the women advocated a policy of non-resistance and submission. It is now easy to see that in the very nature of things the small and isolated colony could not always have maintained its separate existence, no matter how hard it might have fought to preserve it, but it was not on this ground that the *goede vrouwen* urged peaceful submission.

The book abounds with information, much of it not elsewhere accessible, and while in some ways naturally possessing a more particular interest for local readers, the book fully merits careful attention from all who desire an intimate knowledge of the period it treats and the people it describes. If the genealogical tables and history are more entertaining to the families concerned than to the public generally, it can at least be said that this thread is woven into the work in a way that need bore no one, and at the same time gives completeness to it. Among other things, we are told that Manhattan Island derived its name from a tribe of Indians, known as the Mana-ha-ta, which inhabited it at the time the Dutch landed. Another interesting item, especially to the feminine sex, is that telling of the first gold thimble, made by an Amsterdam goldsmith, in 1684, and presented to Madame Kiliaen Van Rensselaer as a token of his respect and regard. As showing how early New York became a cosmopolitan place, the statement that as early as 1664 no less than eighteen different languages were spoken there is to be noted. Much can be learnt from the old Dutch colonists, and we might open this book almost at random with the certainty of finding some quotable passage that would throw light upon them. But from this temptation we must refrain. There is a very full account of the Manor of Rensselaerswick. Never since the discovery of America has there been a nearer approach to the feudal principality of the Old World than this colony, planted in 1630 by Killiaen Van Rensselaer on a 700,000 acre tract of land about what is now Albany, N. Y. In fact it was a principality in all but name, being subject to no government but its own, those within its limits owing allegiance to it, and at all times liable to military duty at the call of the patroon, occupying, indeed, much the same position as did the vassals of the old feudal baron. This system continued some eighty years.

Considering her environment we might expect to find the authoress inoculated with the British alliance fever—seemingly quite prevalent in New York—but the blood inherited from her sturdy Dutch ancestors is evidently proof against the disease, and Mrs. Van Rensselaer shows her opinion of English methods of dealing with subject peoples whenever the opportunity offers. Speaking of the taking of New Amsterdam (New York) by the British in 1664 she writes: "Down came the ladies' silken flag, . . . and up went the banner of St. George, and for over one hundred years the colony was doomed to be oppressed by the misrule and avarice of the rapacious English Government . . ." The Dutch never felt much love for their English rulers and had little reason to, as the men sent to govern them were, with one or two exceptions, anything but a credit to themselves or their country. It could scarcely have been expected, for example, that much respect would exist for such a worthless fellow as Lord Cornbury, who became governor of the colony in 1702, treated the proud burghers as inferiors, and who once when in his cups and walking up Broadway at midnight dressed in woman's garb, was arrested by the watch who very naturally mistook him for a disreputable character. Neither was the conduct of Lady Cornbury conducive to very friendly relations. Upon the arrival of herself and husband they gave a series of splendid entertainments to ingratiate themselves with the colonists. Following these Lady Cornbury chose from among the daughters of the old families a number of so-called ladies in waiting to her court, and being quite penurious, determined to make them do all the work about the establishment. At this they soon rebelled, and the relations between Lady Cornbury and the inhabitants became much strained. But this was not all. Visiting the houses of the wealthy *vrouwen* she would unceremoniously take away with her any article that caught her fancy, and next day as likely as not inform the owner that if she did not care to buy it back, that it would be sold as junk. Needless to say there was no sorrow over the death of this woman or the recall of her husband.

The author is in error in crediting the Dutch with the introduction of the potato into America. It was indigenous to South America where it was found by the Spaniards and through whose agency, most probably, its cultivation began in our Southern States, from which Sir Walter Raleigh took it to the British Islands in 1568. The Dutch may have brought it to New York.

She is also quite wrong when she states that James Alexander founded the American Philosophical Society. That honor belongs to one Benjamin Franklin who founded the society in 1743. Alexander was elected a member some years later. The unique cover design of this volume is evidently in imitation of the binding of the Bible printed in Amsterdam in 1623, given to Govert Lockermans and Ariaentie Jans as a wedding present, brought by them to America in 1641, and now preserved in the Lenox Library, New York City.

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The Wild Fowl and Their Destruction.

The Wild Fowl of North America, or the Swan, Geese, Ducks, and Mergansers. By DANIEL GIRAUD ELLIOT. New York: Francis P. Harper. \$2.50.

If we could but see ourselves as others see us and judge our acts as others will judge them, what a difference it might make! This thought presents itself as we lay down the above volume, in the course of which the author pleads so eloquently and in places with such sadness of heart in behalf of the beautiful and valuable creatures whose numbers are decreasing year by year with ever accelerating rapidity. Nature is not chargeable with this condition of things, neither will she be responsible if the threatened calamity befalls. On the contrary, foreseeing the inroads that would certainly be made upon the ranks of the wild fowl, she planned to meet them by constituting these birds hardy, and as a rule highly prolific, by causing them to resort annually to the wilderness and the wastes of the far north, where they could rear their young in comparative safety, by gifting them with rarely acute senses and much sagacity in escaping the many dangers that constantly beset them. Thus was provision made to preserve the stock in undiminished numbers, and beyond all other fatalities and normal demands, naturally heavy, man could probably have exacted a tithe of the myriad birds that came out of the frozen north each year and done little harm. But this was not enough. Not only must the wild fowl "run the gauntlet of a nation in arms," against them, but their very homes are invaded by man, their eggs destroyed and themselves slaughtered by thousands during the moulting season when, unable to fly, they are practically helpless.

Well may Dr. Elliot ask: "Is it any wonder that their numbers are diminishing; is it not rather a wonder that so many are left?" And with him we say: "Let these, then, have the protection which is their due, and our advantage and profit to accord; stop all spring shooting within our borders, a time when the birds not only are usually poor in flesh, but are mated and journeying northward in obedience to the command 'be fruitful and multiply'; frown down all such barbarous customs as 'killing for count,' and then, with the impartial enforcement of the laws upon all the people, a remnant at least of our noble water fowl may be preserved to future generations." What has been said more specifically of the wild fowl applies with equal force to all our birds. Fashion demands its sacrifice; the pot hunter must be satisfied; the wilful idler gratify his appetite for "sport," and birds and beasts must bear the burden and the suffering as best they may. Doubtless to their poor understanding man is the very embodiment of destructiveness and rapacity, and were we put in their place we might not greatly dissent from that judgment. Let us fully appreciate this, and if the feeling it creates does not suffice to bring about a change, then for our own good let us stop and consider the damage our thoughtless destruction of life has already inflicted upon our material interests, and think how posterity will regard us if we go on wastefully squandering and destroying what should be husbanded and preserved.

In the present volume, which completes a series embracing the "game" birds of North America, Dr. Elliot devotes himself to the swans, geese, ducks, etc., that are indigenous and a few that have occurred on the continent as accidental stragglers, in all sixty-two species. He relates facts in the life history of each of these, in highly interesting and instructive biographies, which gain immeasurably by carrying the impress of the eye that has seen and the ear that has heard. Following each article are careful descriptions of the birds. All the species are admirably pictured in life-like full length portraits, that do full credit to a book with which, from substance to mechanical finish, it would be difficult to find any fault. The fine half-tone portrait of the author given in this volume makes it and the set complete. All that which is more strictly scientific is gathered into a carefully prepared appendix, in which the various species described in the body of the book are duly classified, and the sub-families and

genera in which they are severally placed defined clearly and in sufficient detail. By following this method, which is precisely the same as that observed in the two previous volumes, the author has been able to practically avoid all scientific phraseology and discussion in the biographies, thereby greatly enhancing their interest to the general reader, without in the least impairing the scientific value of his work.

Those familiar with the classification of the Anatidæ of North America, as adopted by the American Ornithologists' Union, will notice considerable difference in that Dr. Elliot employs in this book, not only in arrangement but nomenclature as well. He prefers seven sub-families to five, separating the Wood Duck from the Anatinae and the Spine-tails from the Fuligulinae. The number of genera is also considerably increased, and the Tree Ducks classed among the Anatinae instead of the Anserinae. We are in thorough accord with Dr. Elliot in his denunciation of the practice of multiplying species on trivial, unsubstantial differences, and sincerely hope his wise council will weigh with those too enthusiastic individuals who, in their desire to discover and name new species, blunder to hasty conclusions that are often the cause of much needless confusion.

BRIEFER NOTICES.

Friendship and Folly. By MARIE LOUISE POOL. Boston: L. C. Page & Co. \$1.25.

To understand this novel and keep track of the story it is necessary to read from cover to cover and with thoroughness, otherwise the plot of the tale will be utterly lost and all will become a hopeless wilderness. It is hard to give our endorsement to such a book for there has been a time honored custom among novel readers granting them the privilege of skipping as much or as little as desired and yet get at the pith of the story. The present book rudely shatters this and we are literally forced to read all or none and almost feel as if we were again in our school days with certain work that had to be done or else rue the day. This is a story of modern life centering around three characters, two girls and a man, both girls in love with the man and he in love with both girls. From this it is easily seen what wonderful and rapid change of scene and story is possible. The manner in which the author rushes from one lover to the other and back again is startling in the extreme, and we cannot but wish she had written the story for the stage as the ability to write connectedly and yet brokenly would take. As it is, there should be a good run for this book for it will prove a most exhilarating pastime for any reader to keep track of this kaleidoscopic tale. As to the characters themselves they are very unsatisfactory, and while they have their good points we find them on the whole most fickle, changeable and the slaves of a passing whim. This characteristic is often met with in life, but here it is much overdrawn and magnified, and we cannot find a friend throughout the book. Miss Pool's ability to put the conversational into print is so well known that it needs no comment. The publishers have done their work in their usual satisfactory way, but we find the cover of this book a little too highly decorated and rather flashy for a high class novel.

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The Gate of the Giant Scissors. By ANNIE FELLOWS JOHNSTON. Boston: L. C. Page & Co. 50c.

An attractive little story and one very appropriate for children, for whom, in fact, it is more especially written. Taking for her theme kindness and the pleasure and happiness that spring from it, the author has produced a book that can do only good, and must, we feel, shed some of the brightness it teaches. Therefore we heartily welcome this nicely gotten up little volume and bespeak for it a kindly reception, not only because of the highly praiseworthy mission upon which it goes forth, but also for its inherent merit.

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Father and Son. By ARTHUR PATERSON. New York: R. F. Fenno & Co. \$1.25.

Unhappily the publishers of this book have done their work with little care and in evident haste. Quite a few typographical errors occur, and once at least there is a sentence with no ending. This drawback must have a serious effect on the sale of the book and is most unfortunate for Mr. Paterson, as his novel needs much help to make it attractive to the most easily satisfied. It is

unpleasant to say, but truth and fairness to the public requires that this book stand or fall on its own merits, and that it must fall is evident, as there is really nothing in the whole, long-drawn-out story to arrest attention. Possibly some brave and true spirit can be found to beard the lion in his den and wade through this story, but we will wager that even the boldest will heave a sigh of relief when the task is completed. The worst of the situation is that Mr. Paterson must be a real good sort of man; his sentiments that crop up from time to time, are good and honorable, and it is a hard and thankless task to condemn his work. He simply cannot write in a way to hold the attention, he does not grasp the power of language or expression, and he fails in his attempt to draw a living character. The book, however, is absolutely free from any degrading influence, is, in fact, unusually pure and wholesome. This cannot be said of the great majority of this class of novel.

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The Court of the Second Empire. By IMBERT DE SAINT-AMAND. With portraits. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.50.

We noticed the first volume at some length when it came out. Napoleon III. was not a specially talented man, but he displayed remarkable gifts as plotter and owner of the throne of France. His conduct as exiled pretender and the devices by which he overcame all obstacles entitle his memory to such respect as success can claim for its own sake. The present volume only covers the years 1856-1858. He had apparently established himself as monarch, and the birth of the unfortunate Prince Imperial foreshadowed a dynasty. How gaily the Parisians took their new and costly incumbency needs no telling. With all the scandals, social and political, that welled from the Court fountain, the people were none the less happy. Exiles might keep up a brisk fire at the Tuileries from a safe distance, and would-be assassins could go on failing in their plots at home, the French people at large took none of these things very deeply to heart. They accepted the destiny of the hour, as is their wont still. As long as the glitter of the Court filled their admiring gaze, all was well. The narrative is well and on the whole candidly written, but the main interest of the book, which is well made and illustrated, lies in what we read between the lines.

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Renaissance Masters. By GEORGE B. ROSE. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.

A well considered series of papers on the famous painters about whom we are all supposed to be able to discourse learnedly without preparation. The glib-tongued bore of this common type will find great profit in studying the quiet, beautiful method which marks these studies. They convey more lucid and fruitful ideas than the average lecture, which is usually a dilution in which the water prevails. Raphael, Michel Angelo, Leonardo Da Vinci, Titian, Corregio, Botticelli, these are familiar names, and in an easy way we fancy we know enough of their history and art to serve for the rest of our days, being laymen. If this describes the reader's mental state, we warn him that he is in peril, and had better lose no time in consulting Mr. Rose, who can tell him much he does not yet realize. These essays, to use his own words, give in a brief compass an insight into the essential characteristics of each of the masters named, so that we may be able to enjoy them for what they are, without looking for merits in one which can only be found in another. The book has historic value as well.

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Little Journeys to the Homes of American Statesmen. By ELBERT HUBBARD. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The current number of this dainty and welcome booklet describes the old Braintree home of John Quincy Adams, whose excellent portrait is given. Mr. Hubbard's quaint genius infuses several interests into the simply personal one, and the gentle literary charm graces the whole.

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Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, to July, 1896. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office.

Beyond the usual annual reports upon the condition and work of the Institution, there are gathered together and reprinted in this volume a number of papers on various scientific subjects, and some which have a more general and directly practical interest and value as well. Among the latter is one by Thomas C. Marten, telling of the construction of the works of the Niagara Falls Power Co., and describing the huge turbine wheels which generate 5,000-horse power each, and the mechanism by which this power is applied. Of special archaeological interest is the account of J.

Walter Fewkes, of his expedition to the Pueblo ruins in Arizona, and also that of Egyptian Antiquities by J. De Morgan.

There is an exceedingly thoughtful paper by Joseph Le Conte on "Earth Crust Movements," in which he dwells particularly on the causes which superinduce them. Until quite recently it was believed that mountain ranges were caused by lateral contraction forcing the strata upward. Now another mountain making force is recognized—concentric contraction,

A January Sale for Men

We shall do exceptionally great selling during this month, not so much because we want to sell, as because we have gathered dependable goods at such remarkable prices that you will want to buy. The store's sale of white will interest the whole household—this story is of goods for men. Listen—

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causing, through inequality in density of the earth mass, irregular settling of the crust. As a secondary cause of movement isostasy or gravitative readjustment is carefully considered, attention being directed to how this force constantly tends to equalize the load. Dr. Le Conte also speaks of oscillatory movements which he frankly admits have yet to be satisfactorily explained. In conclusion he says that progress towards a solution of the problems involved can only be made by keeping these four kinds of movements and their causes distinct in mind.

Dr. Harrison Allen's biographical sketch of John Adam Ryder, who died in March, 1895, recalls to mind a man who, though little known to the outside world, accomplished enough of scientific and practical work in his short life of forty-three years to entitle him to an honored place among those who like him have devoted their lives to advance human understanding of the mysteries of life. If for no other service than that he rendered in discovering how to effectually protect the young oyster, at a time when the indications all pointed to the early extinction of this valuable bivalve, Dr. Ryder deserves the thanks of the American public. His scientific labors and research were unremitting, but, unfortunately, death overtook him before he had completed the task he had undertaken. He believed he had gotten hold of a theory of inheritance by which the factors and processes affecting the evolution and divergence of species would be demonstrated as never before. Well do we remember the short but expressive answer he made to a query regarding evolution put by one of his students: "If anyone says to you he does not believe in evolution, tell him he is either a fool or a liar."

**

The Fortunes of the Fellow. By WILL ALLEN DROMGOOLE. Boston: L. C. Page & Co. 50 cents.

A pathetic little story of a boy, a dog and a man, that might easily be duplicated in real life, and which it would do many good to read. There is a certain sad satisfaction in looking into the lives of those who are down in the world, and many lessons are to be learnt by seeing the trials and hardships these people endure, as a rule so uncomplainingly and with so much fortitude. Here, the poor street waif and the old blacksmith who rescues him from his miserable environment, the bond of love that is formed between them and the lessons each learns from the other offer ample food for serious thought. Indeed, there is a little sermon tucked away in these pages which can be profitably taken to heart.

**

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ABOUT BOOKS AND WRITERS.

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**

John Thomson, the energetic librarian of the Philadelphia Free Library has issued in ten cent pamphlet form a "Descriptive Catalogue of the writings of Sir Walter Scott." Some fifteen years ago an English publishing house did the same thing under the title "A Key to Scott's Novels." If the new one is a reprint of the other credit is no doubt duly given to the original performer of this service, whose name we forget. If Mr.

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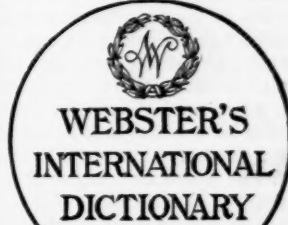
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Thomson has gone to the trouble of making his own epitome it is a pity the English pamphlet was not known to him.

* *

Mr. Barrie, author of "The Little Minister," has pocketed \$200,000 from the dramatized version of his novel. Frank Sanger, the theatre man, has won his lawsuit, begun ten years ago, to recover his partnership share with T. H. French in the profits of "Little Lord Fauntleroy" as a stage play; the total amounts to \$125,000. The writer of one of the most rubbishy rigmaroles of the time reaped a harvest of \$120,000 within twelve months, after his book had for two years and a quarter been going the rounds of the publishers, who unanimously rejected it. Can it be wondered at that so many thousands of gushing girls and hare-brained dudelings rush into authorship now that literary success is a mere lottery?

* *

Kleptomania is a feminine luxury, indulged in occasionally by males of effeminate leanings. The ranks of the clergy have produced a few examples; one is now on view at Yale. The Rev. James Britain Miller graduated four years ago as a "brilliant" Divinity student there. He is now under arrest for having stolen 5,000 books from the Yale Theological Seminary Library, of which he was the model custodian, and from local booksellers. Being a divine, and "highly intellectual," he stole these goods "in fits of absentmindedness." This is why the law, usurping the seat of justice, let him out on small bail. It evidently inclines to decide that bookkeeping is no crime—in New Haven, if the thief wears a white necktie. The illiterate stealer of a loaf to satisfy hunger is a criminal.

* *

A hundred years hence lovers of books that may then survive will look with fine scorn at our records of literary rewards. They will have their own opinion of generations of supposedly enlightened readers who let genius go half or completely starved while heaping money on the heads of mere drummers and fakirs in the bookmaking trade. Here is a letter penned by Southey, a fine prose writer and poet laureate during the first years of the century, whom Wordsworth succeeded. He writes: "Reputation has not brought affluence to me. I write in the *Quarterly Review* because I could not subsist without it; because three-fourths of my expenditure must be earned at the desk; and, with all my reputation, reviewing is the most gainful way in which I can employ myself. At this, therefore, I work as a duty, at other things by inclination. Wordsworth has a regular income adequate to his support and therefore may do as he likes." But Wordsworth confesses somewhere that for years his pen did not earn him money enough to pay for his shoestrings, and the income he was allowed by the government, in his humble office of stamp distributor, would nowadays scarcely suffice to keep a popular writer in postage stamps to acknowledge the letters of autograph hunters and toadies.

* *

Mr. Stead has a habit of doing extraordinary things. He has just published a new edition of the New Testament, translated into modern newspaper English. In this remarkable production the Gospels seem to have been written by a reporter of a Chicago newspaper, and St. Paul preaches much in the style of the Rev. Joe Parker. Mr. Stead's object is a good one. It always is, for a more thoroughly honest man never lived; but he has more than once made serious mistakes. He fancies that the language both of the authorized and the revised translations of the New Testament cannot be readily understood by plain people. For this reason he has given the public this amazing translation of the New Testament into reportorial dialect, and doubtless feels that in so doing he has conferred a great benefit on his generation. It would be quite useless to argue with a man who imagined that the language of the authorized translation presents any difficulties to even the most ignorant reader. The over-subtlety of St. Paul's reasoning and the mysticism of St. John undoubtedly offer difficulties to all men; but these difficulties are inherent in the thought rather than the language, and Mr. Stead has not made the slightest progress toward removing them.

* *

The Critic, which enters upon its nineteenth year, will hereafter be published for The Critic Co. by G. P. Putnam's Sons, and will be printed at their Knickerbocker Press. The editorial

management will remain in the hands of its founders. With the January number *The Critic* will be printed in an enlarged and improved form.

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* *

If you prefer to have your subscriptions begin with the year—many do—make a selection from our Special Clubs and remit us at once, otherwise it may be impossible to supply back numbers.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

THE ROMANCE OF A MIDSHIPMAN. By W. Clark Russell. Pp. 391. New York: R. F. Fenno & Co. \$1.50.

THE ADVENTURES OF CYRANO DE BERGERAC, Translated from the French of Louis Gallett, by Hettie E. Miller. New York: R. F. Fenno & Co. \$1.25.

JARED SPARKS AND ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE. By Hubert B. Adams. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 25c.

REMBRANDT. A Romance of Holland. By Walter Cranston Larned. Pp., 400, illustrated. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.50.

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Improper Treatment of Catarrh or Neglect of It Invites Trouble.

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CATARRH

is an enemy always in our midst. It waylays our footsteps. It nags

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